1	IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
2	FOR THE DISTRICT OF NEW MEXICO
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4	VOTER REFERENCE FOUNDATION, et al.,
5	Plaintiff,
6	VS. NO. CV 22-00222 JB/KK
7 8	Hector Balderas, Attorney General for the State of New Mexico, et al.,
9	Defendants.
10	ZOOM HEARING
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12	Transcript of Motion Proceedings before The Honorable James O. Browning, United States
13	District Judge, Albuquerque, Bernalillo County, New Mexico, commencing on May 11, 2022.
14 15	For the Plaintiff: Mr. Eddie Greim; Mr. Carter Harrison
16	For the Defendant: Ms. Olga Serafimova
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20	Jennifer Bean, FAPR, RDR, RMR, CCR
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1	THE COURT: All right. Good morning
2	everyone. I appreciate everybody making themselves
3	available to me this morning.
4	The Court will call Voter Reference
5	Foundation, LLC versus Hector Balderas I guess
6	that's "LLC, et al." versus Hector Balderas, et
7	al., Civil Matter Number 22-CV-0222 JB/KK.
8	If counsel will enter their appearances for
9	the plaintiffs.
L 0	MR. GREIM: Your Honor, you've got Eddie
L1	Greim from Graves Garrett, LLC, in Kansas City. I
L 2	think I've just been admitted pro hac vice. And I'll
L 3	let Mr. Harrison introduce himself.
L 4	THE COURT: All right. Mr. Greim, Mr.
L 5	Harrison, good morning to you.
L 6	And for the defendants.
L 7	MS. SERAFIMOVA: Good morning, Your Honor.
L 8	Olga Serafimova for defendants. And I apologize, I
L 9	need to log off and log back in real quick. I'm
20	having trouble with my camera.
21	THE COURT: All right. We'll wait for you.
22	Go ahead. Good morning to you, Ms. Serafimova.
23	(A discussion was held off the record.)
24	THE COURT: Good morning, Ms. Serafimova.
25	All right. Let me go over a couple of



Since the plaintiff is an LLC, I'm 1 2 assuming -- and I'll tell you where I am in my work 3 on this case -- but since it's an LLC, if I could get 4 the plaintiff to send a letter to the Court 5 identifying the principal members of it, just in I don't know your case well enough to know 6 case. 7 whether it's going to be just on federal question jurisdiction, or it might break into some sort of 8 9 diversity jurisdiction. But if the plaintiffs would 10 provide that letter, and then indicate the 11 citizenship of each of the principals or members, I 12 would appreciate that. 13 Is that acceptable, Mr. Greim? 14 MR. GREIM: Absolutely, Your Honor. All right. 15 THE COURT: I have read -- I 16 read the materials for the emergency motion. And as 17 I began to work on it, I realized I probably needed

read that. Then the second motion came in, so I stopped and read the second motion. So I'm not on top of things quite as much because I haven't really mastered the materials for the hearing next week,

to educate myself a little bit about this case.

went ahead and got the file for next week -- I think

we're having the hearing on the 17th -- and began to



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You're breaking up real bad, so we're having -- my

1	court reporter is having difficulty transcribing. Is
2	there any way that you can maybe speak a little
3	clearer or slower or something maybe to help her?
4	MS. SERAFIMOVA: Absolutely.
5	THE COURT: All right.
6	MS. SERAFIMOVA: And please let me know if
7	that doesn't help. I can also turn off my camera
8	which will probably improve the internet connection.
9	Okay. So thank you.
10	On March 28, or close to two months ago,
11	the plaintiffs represented to this Court that they
12	are ready to proceed. They filed a motion for
13	preliminary injunction requesting expedited
14	consideration (Zoom audio garbled.)
15	THE COURT: All right. It's not working.
16	You were okay for a while and then you faded on us.
17	MS. SERAFIMOVA: With your permission, Your
18	Honor, I'll turn off the camera, and hopefully that
19	helps.
20	THE COURT: Okay.
21	MS. SERAFIMOVA: Does it?
22	THE COURT: We'll give it a try. Go ahead.
23	MS. SERAFIMOVA: As I was saying, Your
24	Honor, close to two months ago, plaintiffs
25	represented to the Court that they were ready to



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So I'm sorry, but I'll start from the

beginning one last time, hopefully.

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But as I was saying, you know, close to two months ago plaintiffs represented to the Court that they were ready to proceed; that they were entitled to preliminary injunction motion. They requested expedited consideration, and essentially asserted that they have all the facts that are necessary for them to meet their burden.

Now -- and I'm sorry, actually the hearing was originally scheduled for April 12, and plaintiffs did not file or did not serve any subpoenas for that hearing date.

Now, however, again close to two months later, they have attempted to subpoena testimony of five Secretary of State employees. And I say "attempted," because they have actually failed to tender the requisite fees under Rule 45(b)(1) for any one of these five subpoenas.

Now, because defendants are acting in good faith, we have not challenged two of these subpoenas -- two of the first three subpoenas that were served -- which were for the testimony of Elections Director Mandy Vigil, and Compliance Officer Lauren Hutchinson. Nor have we challenged the extensive request for documents that accompanied

these subpoenas or the request for documents that was included in the subpoena that was served on the Secretary of State.

At this point, however -- and with all due respect to VRF -- we do feel that they have engaged in a fishing expedition. The most recent two subpoenas were served only yesterday, which is seven calendar days before the hearing.

And as the Court is aware, defendants strongly believe that granting -- or perhaps you will see once you review the file thoroughly -- but it is our strong position that granting the preliminary injunction would actually result in irreparable harm to New Mexico voters, as well as the Secretary of State's Office, because it will erode public confidence in our voting system. And so we are entitled to prepare -- we have the right to prepare to defend that position. And yet we are constantly ambushed with new and additional subpoenas.

Now, turning to the first motion to quash, which is the subpoena that was served on Secretary of State Maggie Toulouse Oliver. I first want to address VRF's mention that they've offered us alternatives to having her appear at the hearing. The first alternative that we discussed in good faith



was their request to have her -- to depose her for two hours prior to the hearing. And of course, given the entire hearing is two hours, that two-hour deposition would have been as big, if not bigger, burden on her time, and her other responsibilities than the hearing.

Their second offer was to be allowed to post the voter data of each and every New Mexican back on their website without the threat of criminal prosecution. And, of course, we could not agree to that, because it is our -- that is our entire case, that doing so would harm New Mexicans, would harm the Secretary of State, and is just something that we cannot agree to.

And then their final offer was to subpoena Deputy Secretary Pino and Communications Director Curtis instead of the Secretary of State. And as we explained in our second motion to quash, we have no time to prepare for them to testify. And again, Deputy Secretary Pino, being the right hand of the Secretary of State, is under the same extreme time limitations and burdens as the Secretary herself.

So turning to, you know, the merits of our motion. In their response, VRF argues that the Secretary's testimony is necessary because she has



personal knowledge on four items. They have listed four items in their response.

The first one being her office's policies which gave rise to the so-called use restriction.

The second one being her own publicly expressed conclusions that VRF's conduct is unlawful.

The third item being the referral of VRF's conduct of posting New Mexico voter data on their website to the Attorney General's Office for criminal prosecution.

And the last item being her own social media posts, public statements, and her contributions to the ProPublica article that is cited in the complaint or the motion for preliminary injunction.

Now, under the Apex Doctrine, which VRF asserts is not applicable -- and if it is applicable, it is their position that it only applies where a public official lacks personal knowledge -- the standard is actually that, to justify the involuntary testimony of a high public official, such as the Secretary of State, that official has to have unique personal knowledge, not just personal knowledge. Of course, the Secretary of State has personal knowledge about many things. But the doctrine requires unique personal knowledge to justify calling her in to court

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and taking her away from her very important day-to-day responsibilities.

Now, with respect to the first item, policies of the office which gave rise to the use restrictions, there is nothing unique about the Secretary of State's personal knowledge about those. And Elections Director Mandy Vigil is ready and able to testify about those policies.

With respect to the other three items, first of all, none of those are contested. We don't contest that she has expressed publicly that the act of posting the voter data of each and every New Mexican registered voter online is unlawful under the Elections Code.

We don't contest that her office referred that conduct to the Attorney General's Office for criminal prosecution.

And we certainly don't contest the statements that have been made publicly, whether on social media or in press releases or quoted in articles.

So none of those are at issue.

And secondly, VRF has every written document that is relevant to each one of those three items. And to the extent they don't, we will provide

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each and every piece of paper that exists and is relevant to those three items in response to the subpoenas that we are not challenging.

And so, you know, the evidentiary value of questioning the Secretary of State on those three items is close to none.

And additionally, there are a number of alternative sources that that -- you know, that evidence can be gathered from through discovery. For example, interrogatories, requests for admissions; again, other witnesses, and also even deposition on written questions.

And so under the Apex Doctrine, given that there is nothing unique about the Secretary of State's personal knowledge that these are uncontested factual assertions, that they are provable by, you know, the actual written documentation that exists, and that there are alternative methods in discovery to obtain the relevant evidence, the Apex Doctrine strongly, strongly supports our motion to dismiss -- I'm sorry, motion to quash her subpoena.

But more importantly, these items or the topics that they wish to question the Secretary on are not relevant to the issues that are before this Court. So the question before this Court is whether



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or not Section 1-4-5.6 of the Election Code is unconstitutional. That's the question.

And at the hearing next week, VRF has the burden to establish likelihood success on that question, that constitutional question, and also irreparable harm. That is their burden. And any evidence that they present should be relevant to those two items.

Now, because this is a First Amendment case, those two factors actually merge together, because one cannot show irreparable harm in the First Amendment context unless their First Amendment rights are actually being violated.

Now, VRF believes that the relevant section is 1-4-5.5 of the Election Code. But that is incorrect. So the Election Code has three relevant provisions that deal with voter data and how that is distributed publicly. One is Section 1-5-22, which says that, "Any state or county employee who has access to voter data is prohibited from selling it, loaning it, providing access to it, or otherwise surrendering" that voter data. So that section applies to employees with access to the data.

Then we have Section 1-4-5.5, which only pertains to people who actually submit a written



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request for voter data. And that section says that,

"Every such requester must sign an affidavit

promising not to use that voter data for unlawful

purposes." And there are three purposes that are

permitted under that section. And it also says to

"not make it available to others for unlawful

purposes."

So these two sections cover people who actually submit themself a request for voter data and sign an affidavit, and employees who have access to voter data by virtue of their employment responsibilities.

What these two sections do not cover is actually the situation that's in front of the Court, which is where someone -- in this case VRF -- comes into possession of New Mexico voter data by means other than actually submitting an affidavit themselves, and by means other than being an employee with access to such data. So this is where Section 1-4-5.6 comes into place. And it says, "Unlawful use of voter data, which is a fourth degree felony, consists of the knowing and willful use of such information for purposes prohibited by the Voter Records System Act."

So Section 1-4-5.6 explicitly references



the Voter Records System Act, which is Chapter 1-5, which is where Section 1-5-22 resides.

Now, again, Section 22 says, "State employees with access to data may not sell it or otherwise make it publicly available." What Section 1-4-5.6 does is bridge the gap by making the same prohibition applicable to people who are not state employees or county employees. So anyone who comes into possession of New Mexico voter data by means other than requesting it by filing an affidavit or having access to it by virtue of being a state employee, is covered under 1-4-5.6, and is prohibited from selling such data, loaning it, providing access to it, or otherwise surrendering the data. And that is the statute that is at issue before the Court.

And of course, given that this is a constitutional case, the Court has the responsibility to decide it on the narrowest grounds possible.

So while VRF spends a lot of time and effort arguing the constitutionality of Section 1-4-5.5, which is where the affidavit resides -- the requirement for an affidavit resides -- that section is actually not relevant to the case. Neither plaintiff signed such an affidavit. Ms. Steinberg did not, and no one from VRF did.

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As we explain now in response to -- you know, position to the motion for preliminary injunction, VRF actually bought the data from a third party, Local Labs.

Now, Local Labs did sign an affidavit, and Local Labs is potentially subject to criminal liability under Section 1-4-5.5. But Local Labs is not a plaintiff in this case; and therefore, the so-called use restrictions which are in 1-4-5.5 are not before the Court. Their constitutionality is not before the Court, and they're not actually relevant for the issues before the Court.

The only relevant section, again, is 1-4-5.5, which by virtue of incorporating the restrictions of the Voter Records System Act, prohibits anyone who has possession of New Mexico voter data from selling it, loaning it, providing access to it, or otherwise surrendering it, including by uploading it to a website, which is what VRF has done.

And so, given that that's the relevant section or statute that the Court must decide whether it is constitutional under the First Amendment, the Secretary of State's, you know, statements in media posts or her contributions to ProPublica are simply

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not relevant.

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What we believe -- well, VRF's position is that to an extent those statements perhaps demonstrate that 1-4-5.5 gives a public official too much discretion in deciding who to prosecute. That's their over-breadth -- or void for vagueness argument. But again that section is not before the Court.

So given that the evidence they seek to question the Secretary of State on is not even relevant for the Court's decision, she should not be required to appear in person, especially in a time that -- as the Court I'm sure is very well aware -that the State is under an extreme emergency, given the wildfires, given that in-person early voting has already began, given that a number of counties are preparing to evacuate, and a number of communities have already evacuated, and the Secretary of State's Office needs to make contingency plans for those counties in case they do evacuate, and in case their clerks' offices are not open to actually receive early voting. And at this point, we're so close to election day that early voting is no longer the only I mean, she and her deputy -- their time is fully, fully occupied at this point with making sure that election day happens for those counties that are under emergency orders and that are under threat of full evacuations.

And also just turning to the additional grounds to our motion to quash the two subpoenas that were served yesterday. Again, as the Deputy

Secretary of State Ms. Sharon Pino is covered by the Apex Doctrine to the same extent as the Secretary of State, and also again, those two subpoenas were served ineffectively, without providing the requisite fees. Now, I was asked by opposing counsel to accept service by email, and I was happy to oblige. But we never discussed waiving the fees, we never discussed the fees at all.

So service is ineffective for that reason, and they should be quashed for that reason alone. But also, you know, given that they were served only seven days prior to the date of compliance, and given the emergency situation in New Mexico, they simply do not give us reasonable time to prepare. I mean, we've had to -- you know, again, as any party defendants do have a right to prepare and due process rights, and we are constantly being -- you know, being surprised with additional subpoenas.

So I think I've covered everything that I had at this point. Thank you, Your Honor. And I



would like to reserve some time for rebuttal.

2 THE COURT: Let me -- I'll be asking the 3 plaintiff this question as well, but how would you 4 characterize what Voter Reference Foundation is? Do

you see it as a news organization? Or what do you

6 see it -- in your efforts to regulate it, what do you

7 | see it as being?

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MS. SERAFIMOVA: Well, you know, as we stated in our answer, we don't have sufficient information to know what they are. But I think, having seen their website, they don't -- what they do is post the voter rolls of states. There is no editorial, there is no news reporting in any sense of that word. So no, we do not see them as a news organization. They are, by their own admission, a nonprofit that wants to publicize voter rolls for every state in the country. So they want to make the voter history and address and name and party

THE COURT: And when you were arguing, am I understanding you correctly that Voter Reference Foundation did not get the materials they're wanting to post from the State of New Mexico, they got it from another party?

affiliation of each and every registered voter in the

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United States public.



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MS. SERAFIMOVA: That is correct. Even
though in their initial pleadings meaning the
complaint and the motion they stated numerous
times that they obtained this information from the
Secretary of State's Office, that is, in fact,
incorrect. They have now admitted in their reply
that they did obtain it from Local Labs. And it's
our assumption that they bought it from Local Labs,
because Local Labs is a service company. They
basically you know, they obtain public records on
behalf of their for their clients.
And of course, given that the cost in this
case was over \$5,000, I think I mean and VRF is
not disputing that but it is our assumption that

case was over \$5,000, I think -- I mean -- and VRF is not disputing that -- but it is our assumption that they paid for the service and they paid for the data. But they did not sign the affidavit that's required under Section 1-4-5.5. They did not obtain the data from the Secretary of State's Office or the county clerks' offices in New Mexico. They purchased it from Local Labs.

THE COURT: Well, if the Albuquerque

Journal got this same material, would you agree that
you could not prosecute them for publishing the
material?

MS. SERAFIMOVA: Well, we are going deeply



in the merits of the case, and I'm happy to do that, but -- so I just need to clarify, the Albuquerque Journal, just as VRF, would be free to talk about the data, to synthesize the data, to argue about its accuracy, to discuss it in any -- you know, in any way, shape, or form they wish to.

What Section 1-4-5.6 prohibits is that they sell the actual data set that they receive from us, that they loan it to anybody, that they otherwise provide access to it, or surrender it in any way.

And that is important, it's a very important distinction.

Section 1-4-5.6 does not criminalize speech in the everyday sense of the word. Anyone and everyone is free to discuss the data. What they are not allowed to do is to actually, you know, duplicate the set. Because then, for one, you know, we don't collect the fees for that, but -- that's more of a minor consideration -- but the issue is that by publishing the data, for example, online, as VRF has done at some point, it creates an inaccurate picture.

As we explain in our opposition for the motion for preliminary injunction, every data set is a snapshot of registered voters in New Mexico as of that day only. And so it changes, it is updated



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monthly. So it creates the false impression that the data that we maintain is -- looks one way; when, in fact, it's a dynamic database that is constantly updated.

And also, you know, by being able to put our data set online, that breaks the trust that voters have in the Secretary of State's Office, that their data -- the data that they are required by law to give us, in order to exercise their privilege and right to vote, will be kept confidential.

And so, you know, that is the harm, that is the danger, that by saying this is the Secretary of State's data, here it is, they circumvent the requirement that every request or promise under the penalty of perjury to not use it for unlawful purposes and keep it confidential, except for a limited set of circumstances where they are statutorily entitled to use it.

So, again, the Albuquerque Journal can write about it, can discuss it, and say: We obtained the data on such-and-such date, and on that date that is what it looked like. What they cannot do is actually post the data, essentially, the contents of our entire database as it existed on the date of their request.

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THE COURT: All right. Anything else, Ms. 1 2 Serafimova? 3 MS. SERAFIMOVA: Not at this point, Your 4 But, again, I would like to reserve some time 5 rebuttal. 6 THE COURT: All right. Thank you, Ms. 7 Serafimova. Mr. Greim, are you taking the lead on this? 8 9 MR. GREIM: Yes, Your Honor. 10 So I think I'll start -- I have more to say 11 than I thought I would need to get into on this call, but some of the questions that you've asked, I think, 12 13 are a good entry point. 14 THE COURT: Let me ask you this: Let me 15 try to refocus this hearing -- because we've got a 16 motion hearing next week -- but let me ask you some 17 things at the beginning here. 18 It seems to me like five witnesses is a lot 19 from the Secretary of State's Office. I don't know 20 how big it is now, but it's always been one of the 21 smaller offices up in Santa Fe. Five seems like a 22 lot. 23 Are you looking for inconsistencies between 24 their testimony? Are you looking for them to verify? 25 Or does each one of them have something very distinct



that only that witness can provide? 1 2 MR. GREIM: Your Honor, they do each have 3 something distinct. And I think -- I can give what 4 those things are. But I think it makes sense to step back and 5 look and see what the case is about. I won't argue 6 7 the whole thing. But there are really two halfs to this case. One are some purely legal and statutory 8 questions that I think I've got to correct here for 9 10 the Court to understand. 11 THE COURT: Okay, I'll let you do that, but 12 let's focus on the mechanics of the hearing today. 13 You've got five witnesses. I think that y'all had 14 indicated about two-and-a-half hours for this hearing. That seems to me to be a lot of witnesses. 15 16 Can you do it with three? Can you do it with two? 17 Do you need witnesses at all? I mean, if these are 18 public statements that the Secretary has made, what 19 are the witnesses really giving us here? 20 Right. Well, what they're MR. GREIM: going to give us is the constitutional part of our 21 22 argument. 23 So there are two halfs to this case. 24 first half of the case is: What does the statute 25 actually prohibit?



And so, when we initially set this for hearing -- I know it's been moved back -- our intent was to have the only factual development be we would bring in our client to talk about what VRF is and what it does. And then we would just simply show you, under the statutes, that this is impermissible, that what the Secretary of State is doing is not actually what the law requires.

Since that time, we have -- actually, we were never given this by the Secretary of State. But we have what we believe is the referral letter that the Secretary of State shared with some politically allied media, and that now we have found. And so what we are able to do now at this hearing, that we weren't going to be able to do before, is show that there is content- and viewpoint-based discrimination going on, and not simply, you know, mistakenly expanding the reach of New Mexico law.

And so, Your Honor, we probably -- you know, candidly, if they would stipulate to certain things, we could probably get by without one or two of the other witnesses. But what we really have to have are the people who are the decision makers who decided that this group -- that the speech is misinformation, and therefore, falls outside of our

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statutes. And candidly, that person is not going to be Ms. -- I think I heard it pronounced Vigil -- who actually is on this call. I see her name on here. I think she's actually participating here today. She's not going to know the answer to that. In fact, we think that she had to be told not to even process requests directly from Voter Reference Foundation. I think we'll establish that at the hearing. I don't want to get too far into the merits.

But the people that can answer those questions are the Secretary of State, and then the Deputy, Ms. Pino, who actually drafted the referral letter.

And that referral letter, Your Honor, paints a very different picture of New Mexico law than what we just heard from the Attorney General's Office today. In other words, they've shifted their theory to try to remove the appearance of having a viewpoint or content-based reason for doing this.

And so I can get into that a little bit more, but I think that the question you asked about the Albuquerque paper, I think, is important.

Because the answer that you just got from the Attorney General walks through the statutes. But as we mention in our response, the citation to the



statutes is just simply not correct.

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So the key statute in this case is actually 1-4.5.5(c). And what that statute says is that if you want to request this data, you can. It's not, you know, private in all but a few cases. Instead, you can request it under 1-4-5.5(c), so long as you fill out an affidavit saying that you will not use or share the data except for certain purposes. And those purposes are election campaigns -- I'm sorry, governmental use, election or election-campaign related uses.

And so the Secretary of State actually came up with an affidavit form that Local Labs -- who is VRF's vendor -- signed, and they checked "election related." And they signed an authorization which does not say what the new authorization says. Very important; very, very important.

The forms have all been changed to follow the theory that you just heard. That's not what the forms that we signed, that our vendor originally signed, said. What it says actually is: You won't make available the data to others to use for a use other than governmental election, and then the one we mentioned, research for campaign focus.

There is no blanket ban on sharing the data



with someone else. That's the most important point. There is no blanket ban on doing that. You absolutely can, so long as the purpose for which you are sharing falls within the statute. You absolutely can.

The other important point is that there is no requirement that anyone who ever comes into possession of the data -- so there is no requirement that the person with whom you share the data also go back and sign the affidavit. That is not what the statute says. There is not a free-floating requirement, you know, somehow implied from the statutes; that whoever ends up seeing this data has to go back and sign the affidavit. Instead, it says the requester has to sign the affidavit. That's what the statute says.

Now, there is a separate statute that very specifically says who is required not to share the data. And it is limited to state workers, and it is limited to certain contractors that the State uses for sort of data entry purposes. That's all that the statute says.

The State's theory -- we addressed this, this is very important -- says that -- actually, there is a different statute elsewhere that expands

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the bubble out, and says that no one can share the data. But, Your Honor, I don't want to -- I mean, you'll see the text in the statutes if you go through the materials, that's absolutely not what that other provision says. The 1-4-5.6 simply says, "Unlawful use of voter data," then it goes on, "consists of the knowing and willful use of such information for purposes prohibited by the Voter Records System Act." Then it cites over to Article 5. So it just says: If you violate Article 5, it's an unlawful use, if it's also knowing and willful. And it's got to be for purposes prohibited there.

So that's interesting. The first thing to notice is that it's talking about the purposes prohibited by the act. It's not talking just about sharing.

But then go to the next section. This is really what they hang their hat on. And this says, "Any person, organization, or corporation, or basically agents thereof, who commit unlawful use -- that's the thing that was just defined in the prior section -- "is guilty of a 4th degree felony." That section requires you to first find that there has actually been a violation of some other part of the act. It doesn't say that specific statutes that only

apply to specific people now apply to the entire world, to people inside and outside of New Mexico.

It absolutely does not say that. This is a very basic bare bones statute that every election code has, that simply gives you the standard for converting a violation into a criminal violation, and then sets forth what the penalties are. It does expand 1-5-22 out to everybody else.

And, I mean, that's key issue, Your Honor. Because if they're wrong about that, then they've got only one other reason to come after Voter Reference Foundation. And that other reason is they don't like the use to which Voter Reference Foundation is putting the data. They don't like the fact -- and by the way, there is not just a data file, Your Honor, placed on the internet that someone can just download and then themselves use it.

They don't like that somebody can type in their own name or a neighbor's name or someone they know just died, or whatever it is, and see whether that person is voting. They don't like that. In their view, that is not an election-related use. In fact, that's the reason why they've removed the entire category from the request form of election-related uses. Now, it's got to be an

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election campaign. So they've actually removed that because they don't like that part of the statute.

So, Your Honor, the problem here is that we've got a flat-out misreading of the statute. And by the way, this theory that you just heard is the secondary theory in the referral to the Attorney General.

Many of these other statements that we're going to put into evidence that come from the Secretary of State, that come from Mr. Curtis, explain that the real problem is that they think Voter Reference Foundation is engaging in misinformation, and in their view, impugning the work of the Secretary of State or engaging in, quote, "misinformation" about how good the voter rolls really are, actually doesn't meet the use requirements. So it's a content-based attack. That, Your Honor, is what -- we didn't know that there was going to be such evidence when we initially scheduled this. We intended to focus on the statutory issue. But that's now what we're going to be able to show.

By the way, I think I heard counsel say that we have every written document that's relevant to this, that we have everything. I mean, I have no idea where that statement comes from. It's certainly

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not correct. We have gotten a copy of the referral. 1 2 We've gotten a few other documents that were 3 disclosed in a public information request. 4 need to get these documents. I mean, I think we're 5 going to find more. That's not for this hearing, 6 though, I just want to make that point. 7 Then I also want to walk through the different witnesses. I think Ms. Vigil will be 8 9 important because she'll be able to talk about the 10 normal process of making requests, and she'll be able 11 to give some basic background facts here. 12 frankly, I think much of what she knows about the 13 decisions were just told to her from above. 14 not believe there is any viewpoint-based issue here 15 because she was not in on that. Obviously (Zoom 16 audio garbled.) 17 THE COURT: Hold on just a second. 18 that last sentence because it got garbled. 19 MR. GREIM: Okay. I'm sorry. I know when 20 I turn away from the computer, then it goes away 21 sometimes. 22 I think what I said was that Ms. Vigil, I 23 think, you know, she understands the theory that the 24 Attorney General is now arguing in this case. 25 don't think she will understand the content-based



reason that the forms were changed and that VRF was attacked in the first place. So, you know, I think her information will be very low level, and I think -- she's listening in right now, so she's hearing my outline, I guess, of what I'm going to ask her about -- but I think she will just be able to speak more to the mechanics.

The second witness we asked for, but I think they're actually going to be called by the Secretary as well, she was the one who actually processed the application here and took payment.

She also seemed to try to do a little sleuthing to determine that Local Labs was the requester. But, of course, the Secretary of State already knew that Local Labs was acting on behalf of Voter Reference Foundation. If nothing else, ProPublica told them that. And we don't try to hide the fact that there are companies who are good at doing this.

We attached a list, Your Honor, of all the different people, just like Local Labs, who go buy this data from the Secretary of State, then they share it with clients. And this is the first instance where suddenly the sharing of the data has become a crime.

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But, you know, we even disclose on our website -- if you click through, we show you the entire email chain by which we obtain the data. So Voter Reference Foundation makes it very clear to everyone that we obtained it from Local Labs, and we do that across the country.

So anyway, those are the first two witnesses. I diverged for a little bit.

The Secretary of State can speak about the actual basis for the referral. Interestingly, in the complaint, paragraph 52, where we laid out what the Secretary's statements were, I thought it was interesting the defense would not actually admit the Secretary made those statements. They would -- they have only admitted that those quotes appeared in an article that we attached. I think it's troubling that they won't admit (Zoom audio garbled) and wouldn't do that even in their answer.

Finally, of course, the Secretary of State re-tweeted (Zoom audio garbled.)

THE COURT: Mr. Greim, do stare at the camera, because when you turn away, it gets harder to hear for us. So try to put your notes or whatever you're looking at, try to position it so you can keep talking straight at us. Because when you turn away,



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MR. GREIM: All right. I apologize. You can probably see I'm doing this from home. We had an issue at our office, and I'm not used to being in these surroundings during the middle of the day.

So, Your Honor, I think we've got to hear from the Secretary of State, especially because this was her main criticism of Voter Reference Foundation. She said it was attempting to impugn the integrity of the voter rolls. Impugn. Not damage, not destroy, not actually mess with the voter rolls, but instead, in the view of other people, it was impugning the integrity of the voter rolls.

And what was she talking about there? The ProPublica piece that she re-tweeted talked not only about Voter Reference Foundation's website, where you can type in information to see someone has voted in possible states. But there is a separate Voter Reference Foundation website, where it publishes its own analysis, Your Honor, of what the voter information data shows.

And so, in fact -- we'll see this later -- Voter Reference Foundation found some issues in the New Mexico data, and reached out to the Secretary of State's Office to try to get an explanation from

them, did that back in 2021.

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Then, Voter Reference Foundation

directly -- not through Local Labs -- but directly

reached out to understand this gap in the data in

February. And the Secretary of State's Office

position is it will not answer, it will not provide

data to Voter Reference Foundation. There is a

blanket ban on it. And again, the only basis for

that -- the only basis that could exist -- and we'll

see this in the documents -- is that the Secretary of

State does not like the speech that Voter Reference

Foundation is engaging in.

And remember, the speech is two things:

Analysis of the data. But also the case law we cited to you shows it's providing the data itself. The Secretary of State wants to be the sort of only game in town with discussion about how good the data is and its integrity.

But our basic position is, no, the National Voter Registration Act makes this available to citizens for a reason. It's to do just what VRF is doing.

So the two big problems -- I'll just circle it all back together now -- are number one, the Secretary of State is absolutely misreading the

statutes. And I think you'll see that in our briefing for Tuesday.

But number two, we now know why. It's a content -- and I would say now at this point, we can establish a viewpoint-based distinction. And so even if we were wrong about the statutes, they are applying them only against us based on the content of our speech about that data. They're doing it to another group as well. And these are not things that the people who process requests at the lowest level are going to be able to tell us. That's why we need to hear from these witnesses.

The final technical issue that you asked me about at the outset, I'll just respond to quickly. I mean, I think if we had to whittle people down, we could probably get by, just for the purposes of Tuesday, with either the Secretary of State or Ms. Pino. We don't probably need to have both of them for purposes of Tuesday.

But once we learned that they were going to fight us on the Secretary of State, which would have been the fastest way to go, we had to protect ourselves from the possibility that we would end up with only these two low-level witnesses who would not be able to give us the information we needed.

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So we would be fine with one or the other 1 2 of those. But we do need Mr. Curtis. Mr. Curtis 3 made statements to ProPublica about exactly why 4 they're going after VRF. And I think we do need Ms. Vigil, if 5 nothing else, to lay the sufficient groundwork. 6 7 stop there for now. I know I went on for about 20 minutes. 8 9 THE COURT: Are you comfortable with these 10 people testifying by Zoom, so that if they're in 11 Santa Fe, they don't have to leave their office, and 12 they just can kind of come into a room up there and 13 testify? 14 MR. GREIM: Yes, absolutely, Your Honor. I 15 mean, that will probably be faster. 16 You know, I'm well aware that if we had all 17 five people go, we wouldn't be able to do it. 18 didn't want to wait and have this hearing -- maybe if 19 we learn we can't use the Secretary now, that will be 20 even later serving the subpoena. So I wanted to make 21 sure that we had a backup plan. 22 So my proposal would be Ms. Vigil. 23 know, I could probably dispense with 24 Ms. Hutchinson -- if we can get stipulations on the 25 process -- either Ms. Pino or the Secretary, and then



Mr. Curtis. That leaves us either three or four witnesses.

THE COURT: How do you describe your client? I mean, do you think you're a news organization? A media organization? How do you see and describe yourself?

MR. GREIM: Well, Your Honor, I think for purposes of the First Amendment, you know, status as a media organization in this context won't matter under the law. But I think they would view themselves as a hybrid. I mean, on the one hand, they are publishing analyses of the data. But on the other hand, part of the goal here is to sort of crowd source to the public at large the things that are not going to be obvious to somebody who is just comparing data one against the other. I mean, public access is what will uncover lots of issues that otherwise wouldn't be known to the Secretary or to VRF.

THE COURT: Well, help me with my imagination. What is it that it's going to uncover? For example, people who have not voted for -- like myself, I haven't voted since I've become a federal judge -- is it going to uncover that somebody may have voted for me or something like that? Is that the sort of thing that you're looking at -- looking



for, or what is it that -- the discrepancies or problems that you're looking for?

MR. GREIM: Sure. I mean, one thing may be that someone votes in two different states, because you know, the data can be searched across states. So that may be one issue.

Another issue may be that they say they do a great job of cleaning the voter rolls. That's wonderful if that's true. But maybe there are people who have passed away or who have moved who are still on there, and someone is voting. You know, a neighbor may know that someone has died or moved away; they may enter their name and say: Well, wait a second, why did they vote? And again, those aren't issues that just matching huge databases from, you know, various sources against the existing rolls are going to find out.

And candidly, at the end of the day, what if we don't find discrepancies? I mean, that's a great thing as well. Because it means now people will have confidence that: Don't just take the Secretary of State's word for it. The citizens can access this data on their own, just like campaigns can, just like academic researchers can. They can type in their own name or their uncle's name or

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something, and they can verify that it's accurate.
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     So it's not that our purpose is only served by
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     uncovering discrepancies.
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               THE COURT: All right. Anything else,
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     Mr. Greim?
               MR. GREIM: Your Honor, I think that's all.
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               We want to have an efficient hearing on
     Tuesday, and we want to make our two main showings,
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     and I think we'll be able to do that.
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               THE COURT: All right.
                                       Thank you,
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     Mr. Greim.
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               Ms. Serafimova, you've got a proposal here
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     on the table. Is that of any interest to you that
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     these witnesses can appear by Zoom, and you can
     decide between Ms. Pino and the Secretary of State?
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     Anything there that's helpful, useful to you, worth
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     agreeing to?
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               MS. SERAFIMOVA: Well, Your Honor, we
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     have -- we've already agreed to make Ms. Vigil
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     available. And just an important clarification, she
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     is not a low-level employee. She's the Director of
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     Elections. And she is intimately familiar with the
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     day-to-day business in the state.
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               We can probably agree to Mr. Curtis
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     appearing.
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But again, the Secretary of State and the Deputy Secretary, especially given that in-person voting has begun, and given the emergency situation in New Mexico, we ask that the Court quash those subpoenas.

And if I may, Your Honor, in rebuttal, I would like the opportunity to clarify a handful of misstatements that were made, if I may.

THE COURT: You may.

MS. SERAFIMOVA: So first, opposing counsel represented that the voter information authorization form has changed in a way that demonstrates animus to VRF specifically. And that is simply not true. Yes, the authorization form was revised in February of this year.

But I have in my hands the authorization form that was signed by Local Labs. And under authorization it reads, "Unlawful use of the information requested on this form shall consist of willful selling, loaning, providing access to, or otherwise surrendering, duplicating, or alteration of information as stated in the Voter Records System Act." So that position, that interpretation of the law has never changed.

And I mean, as the Court is well aware, the



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two parties, the two defendants are the Secretary of State's Office and the Attorney General's Office.

And we are the two state entities that are statutorily required to interpret and enforce the Election Code. So our interpretation is accorded significant deference, opposing counsel's disagreement notwithstanding.

Now, it is true that the referral letter -this is the other clarification that I would like to make -- opposing counsel discussed the fact that the referral letter that was sent from the Secretary of State's Office to the Attorney General's Office mentions both Sections 1-4-5.5, which talks about the affidavit, and Section 1-4-5.6, which talks about everyone else selling or otherwise surrendering voter data. The reason was because Local Labs -- the referral mentions both VRF and Local Labs. And, of course, Local Labs did sign the affidavit. So that is the reason why the referral mentions both sections.

We have the entity that signed the authorization and then violated it, and then the entity that obtained the voter data without signing the authorization. And in the Secretary of State's opinion, as the State entity that enforces and

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interprets the Election Code, that was a violation of 1-4-5.6. So that is the reason. So there is no content-based discrimination.

Opposing counsel also stated that at the time they filed the complaint and the motion, they were unaware that the Secretary of State had made public statements that there is misinformation; that it's hard to believe, given that the statements are public, and that they have been able to search through social media, and have other press releases, copies of press releases. But that is again not content-based discrimination. That is the State interests, the important State interest, that we have asserted in our response to the motion for preliminary injunction and today.

That is the harm that is being done to New Mexico voters and our voting system in general, by making the Secretary of State's database public.

Because again, it is a snapshot. And so, to the extent that it demonstrates discrepancies, those discrepancies are actually -- unless somehow the voter data is cross-referenced for that specific moment in time, those discrepancies may very well be incorrect, because again, it is updated on a monthly basis.



So in our response to the motion for
preliminary injunction, the fourth State interest,
important State interest, that we put forward in
support of our position that the First Amendment has
not been violated is that because voter data produced
at any single moment represents a snapshot of the
voter files as of that moment; whereas, voter files
may change in the future, thereby rendering the
produced voter data no longer accurate, disseminating
voter data may lead to disinformation which would
further erode voter confidence in the voter
registration system. So that is the State's
interests. That is not commonplace discrimination.

Again, our interpretation of the law has always been the Section 1-1-5.6 bridges the gap and applies to people who have come into possession of voter data without signing the affidavit and without having access to it by being state employees. That is the gap that that section covers. And that is consistent in our referral or the Secretary of State's referral letter to the Attorney General's Office, because it addressed both VRF's conduct, and Local Labs, as the entity who actually signed the this.

And so -- and lastly, the authorization was



updated, but it has not changed materially. And it certainly does not demonstrate any animus, the same way that unlawful use of the information requested, just as is the wilful selling, loaning, providing access to, or otherwise surrendering or duplicating it is present in both versions of the authorization form.

And if I may -- just if you give me a second to just make sure that I covered everything I intended to cover -- oh, opposing counsel mentioned a blanket ban on VRF. What, in fact, has happened is that now that the Secretary of State's Office knows that VRF has violated the Election Code, yes, they will not produce any more voter data to that entity, because they would be violating, essentially, their duty to protect the data under the statute by knowingly giving it to an entity that is currently alleged to have violated the law.

So that is why, you know, at the moment no further data requests will be processed for VRF.

This is not -- it's not unreasonable. In fact, it is a requirement. They would be abrogating their duties. Secretary of State's Office would be absolutely violating their statutory duty if they were to ignore the fact that VRF has violated the

Election Code.

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Also, to the extent VRF alleges that we, the Secretary of State's Office, has violated state law, I mean, that's not a First Amendment claim, and it should not be before this Court. They started off by saying that we have misinterpreted our statute. And we are saying that they are unlawful, when in fact it, is lawful under the statute. That's not a First Amendment claim for this Court to decide.

And I believe -- oh, and just the final point I'd like to make is that, prior to today, VRF has never before described themselves as a news organization. So for what that's worth, I think it should be taken into account. Today they described themselves as a hybrid, but they did not do that in their complaint, in their motion, in any of their filings.

And then finally, to the extent, you know, opposing counsel said that we did not admit certain statements were made in the article, that is actually not accurate. We do admit in the answer -- I mean, we admitted the allegation as it was written. There was no -- you know, no attempt to hide the ball here.

So, thank you. Going back to your initial question, we do ask the Court to quash the subpoenas

of the Secretary of State and the Deputy Secretary of 1 2 State, both for failing to pay the fees; for failing 3 to provide a reasonable amount of time to prepare 4 with respect to the deputy, and most importantly, 5 under the Apex Doctrine, because given the emergency situation in New Mexico, and all the information that 6 we've discussed, their testimony is unnecessary. 7 it would be a severe burden on the office. 8 9 Thank you, Your Honor. 10 THE COURT: I'll give you the last word, 11 but I want to ask Mr. Greim a question. And then 12 I'll give you, Ms. Serafimova, the last word. 13 Mr. Greim, at the end of the day next week, 14 what is it that you're asking the Court to do? 15 is the -- if you were writing the order of your 16 requested injunction, what would it say? 17 MR. GREIM: We want to be able to repost 18 the -- and this is not going to be as good as what we 19 typed up in our filing -- but I would say we want to 20 be able to repost the data during the pendency of

THE COURT: Okay. All right. Anything else you want to say, Ms. Serafimova?

this litigation without being criminally prosecuted

MS. SERAFIMOVA: Your Honor, reposting the



for that.

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data would be irreparable harm to New Mexico voters, because, of course, once it's out there, calling it back is practically impossible. And if the Court were to ultimately find that doing so is unlawful, and not -- and the prohibition is not a violation of the First Amendment, the State would be left without a remedy.

You know, the preliminary injunction asks for all the relief that they could be entitled at the end of a merits hearing, and is therefore, a disfavored injunction. And we strongly believe that given the harm to the State and the public, and of course, the issues with their legal claim, Voter Reference will not prevail on the merits.

THE COURT: All right. Thank you, Ms. Serafimova.

Well, when I'm working on a preliminary injunction like this, I know that the law is very important, and I may or may not get the law right. But what I owe for the system as a trial judge is to get the facts right. Somebody may tell me I've got the law wrong, and I understand that. But it is my duty to get the facts right. And I've read too many appellate decisions that involve First Amendment or other constitutional issues, where they even get to

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the Supreme Court sometime, and the record is thin, and that doesn't help the system.

So I think that I need to be careful here that I don't clip too many wings here at this stage and not allow for a robust record. I will -- I'm not going to quash any subpoenas today. And I think the Secretary of State's Office needs to be prepared to put on four witnesses. They can choose between Pino and the Secretary of State, so that it's down to four witnesses. And it sounds like that a stipulation may take care of another. But I'm not going to, myself, start cutting down this record without being more knowledgeable about the facts that may prove important. It sounds to me like there is enough complexity to the issues, and maybe even the factual record, that I should not do that today.

So I will continue to look at these motions, and try to get some opinion and order out on the motions, two motions to quash. But at the present time, I'm not granting them. And the Secretary of State will need to be prepared to provide four witnesses or stipulations that eliminate the need for one, and the Secretary of State can choose between herself and Pino as far as a witness.

All right. Is there anything else we need



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to discuss while we're together? Is there anything 1 2 else I can do for you, Ms. Serafimova? 3 MS. SERAFIMOVA: No, Your Honor. Thank 4 you. 5 THE COURT: All right. How about you, 6 Mr. Greim? 7 MR. GREIM: I think we're okay, Your Honor. My only question is should we plan to do things by 8 9 Zoom for all the witnesses? 10 THE COURT: I will let y'all decide that. 11 If there is a disagreement, I can get back on and 12 decide those issues. If y'all agree on anything, 13 it's fine with me. I sit here and talk to this 14 screen all day long. New Mexico is a big state. 15 so I don't require people to come. I know you're out 16 of state. So I'm fine with doing things by Zoom. 17 But some people like to be in a courtroom. I can 18 tell you this: I used to, as an attorney, drive from 19 Albuquerque to Taos to be in front of a judge for a 20 short hearing because I thought it was terribly 21 important. I've learned over the last 19 years that 22 I have to tell people no and yes and other things, 23 and it doesn't really matter whether they're in the 24 courtroom or by Zoom. 25 But I leave that to y'all, how you want to



put on your case, how you want to put on your 1 2 If there is a disagreement, I can get witnesses. 3 back on with you. But as long as y'all agree, I'm 4 fine. And I lean toward giving people choices. 5 that responsive enough? I will be there. 6 MR. GREIM: 7 THE COURT: Is that responsive enough, or do you need some more specific guidance, Mr. Greim? 8 9 MR. GREIM: Your Honor, that's just what we 10 need. And I was going to tell you, I will be there, 11 so I'm looking forward to it. 12 THE COURT: Anything else, Mr. Greim? 13 Nothing more, Your Honor. MR. GREIM: 14 THE COURT: All right. I'll appreciate 15 your presentations this morning. 16 I'll try to get some opinion and order out But be patient with me. I've got a criminal 17 18 case that's kind of eating my lunch right now. 19 I'll turn to this as soon as I can, and be fully 20 prepared for the hearing next week by reading the 21 more substantive documents. 22 All right. Y'all have a good afternoon. 23 Let us know if we can be of any help. 24 MS. SERAFIMOVA: Judge, if I may. 25 sorry, just final clarification. So you would be



1	okay with the attorneys also appearing by Zoom, if we
2	chose to; is that right?
3	THE COURT: Do you have any objection to
4	that, Mr. Greim?
5	MR. GREIM: No objection, Your Honor.
6	THE COURT: Okay. Yeah, I think it's up to
7	you, Ms. Serafimova. If you want to appear by Zoom,
8	that's fine. If you want to be here, that's fine.
9	Sounds like y'all are, you know, comfortable with
L 0	letting everybody do their own thing. So I'll leave
L1	that to you.
L 2	MS. SERAFIMOVA: And I'll make sure that I
L 3	have a good connection if we
L 4	THE COURT: All right. That's probably a
L 5	good idea. That is probably a good idea.
L 6	All right. Anything else? All right.
L 7	Y'all have a good afternoon. Let us know if we need
L 8	to get back together. Otherwise, I'll see y'all next
L 9	week.
20	MR. GREIM: Thank you, Your Honor.
21	(The Court stood in recess.)
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1 C-E-R-T-I-F-I-C-A-T-E2 3 UNITED STATES OF AMERICA 4 DISTRICT OF NEW MEXICO 5 6 7 I, Jennifer Bean, FAPR, RDR, CRR, RMR, CCR, 8 Official Court Reporter for the State of New Mexico, 9 do hereby certify that the foregoing pages constitute 10 a true transcript of proceedings had before the said 11 Court, held in the District of New Mexico, in the 12 matter therein stated. In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my 13 14 hand on May 24, 2022. 15 16 17 18 Jennifer Bean FAPR, RMR-RDR-CCR 19 Certified Realtime Reporter United States Court Reporter 20 NM CCR #94 333 Lomas, Northwest 21 Albuquerque, New Mexico 87102 Phone: (505) 348-2283 22 Fax: (505) 843-9492 23 24



